

American taxpayers' good money gone

forever.

In the first half of the fiscal year beginning with July the total ordinary expenditures were roughly three and a half billions of dollars. If we are so lucky as to stay within two and a half billions for the present half bud-

get for next June, the whole sum for the fiscal year would be some six billions of dollars. To look back next July—a year and three-quarters after the armistice—at that annual expenditure of six billions of dollars will be staggering. But not to be able to see a better year ahead, not merely by hundreds of millions but by billions, would be appalling. Congress must not let our peace bills soar high in the realms of war bills. Congress must cut appropriations and cut them to the bone. Then the Administration Government cannot squander if it wants to squander.

The Details About a Conspiracy That Never Was.

Readers who have a leaning toward such recidivate matters as the sessions of an important Grand Jury will not go unrequited from a perusal of the digest, made public to-day, of the consideration of Mayor Hylan's charge that the last Interborough strike was the result of conspiracy and collusion between the railroad company and its employees.

In addition to making it apparent that the conspiracy charges had no sound bottom, the evidence is fruitful in revealing the Mayor's attitude toward the public service corporation in particular and "Wall Street" in general. It also shows, for the first time, the growth of the animosity which sprang up between the Extraordinary Grand Jury and the District Attorney, a bitterness culminating in a dramatic situation when Mr. SWANN declined to be a witness unless subpoenaed—and then refused to subpoena himself.

All that mystery which clung about the Foreman ALTRIM's appeal to the Governor for special counsel is now dissipated, for none who reads the record of the "protection of witnesses" by the gentlemen from the District Attorney's office will wonder why the Grand Jury felt that such official aid was for its own purposes, worse than no help at all.

The record of the investigation of alleged conspiracy seems to form a finished book. That of the so-called overshadowing crime, while apparently far from complete, affords more light on this phase of the Centre street mystery than has hitherto been shed. It may be that there was no ulterior crime sufficiently opaque to cast a shadow, just as there was no conspiracy except that which wagging tongues created.

The case, while improved by the sunlight of publicity, is still unsatisfactory to both sides. What the public will find in it most to admire is the patience of Justice WEEKS, who evidently did his best to clear an air filled with the electric storms emanating from a petulant District Attorney and a determined foreman, and whose forbearance with irritating officials has been so steady that lawyers with memories must be led to wonder how, under similar circumstances, Recorder SMITH would have treated a District Attorney who adopted methods like Mr. SWANN's.

Kansas Against Strikes.

Of the Kansas, Court of Industrial Relations, set up to discourage strikes, lockouts and other deterrents of production and distribution of food, clothing and fuel, it may be said, properly will be said, by analytical sharps that the new act creating the so-called court has had put into it more "ifs," "ands" and "whereases" than teeth. If such criticism is well grounded the flaw may be due to a series of Constitutional bumps, State and Federal, which the Kansas lawmakers have tried to hurdle without a skinning of legal skill. But though the act be far from perfect, though it should not prove to be practicable in its workings, though it should not stand the judicial test, its purpose was well worth stating.

The new Court of Industrial Relations aims to keep public utilities, running and food, clothing and fuel industries producing by summoning firms, persons or corporations engaged in such business and work, inquiring into their disputes, examining their records and investigating working conditions and wages, together with capital returns, and adjusting all such controversies. It has the authority to make awards, though the power to enforce them may be doubtful.

This Kansas legislation, however, is not only interesting for what it seeks to do, but important for the way in which the legislative and executive authority of the State carried through the work. It is interesting because it starts something in the direction of protecting the public from special interests, whether of organized capital or of organized labor, which in their incessant disputes nearly always have disregarded the welfare and the rights of all the people. For a man or a Legislature to do something when nearly everybody else is merely talking is always well worth while. To make an honest, resolute trial of a thing which ought to be done but which nobody has before tried to do will sooner or later bring something like the desired result.

It was Governor ALLEN who jumped into the coal strike situation when the people of his State were freezing, and began to dig coal for them. And it was the Kansas Legislature which backed him up in his digging of the coal. It was Governor ALLEN who had the bill to prevent strikes introduced; and it was the Legislature of Kansas which again backed him up. It passed his bill in

dedance of the protests, the warnings

and the threats of professional labor agitators and strike leaders. They brought all their powers of bulldozing to bear against both the Governor and the Kansas Legislature to prevent the passage of this act. But they did not get away with it. Every professional labor agitator or strike leader now knows that the people of Kansas are against strikes. That fact is going to count for much whatever the merits of the particular anti-strike measure may or may not be.

Our judgment is that the creation of the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations will be productive sooner or later of benefits not only in Kansas but in the United States at large. But if the Kansas legislation should take a generation to work out the practical results essential to its final success, already it has done one good and big job—as a moral tonic, a national job—in showing that legislators and governors no longer need to shake in their boots under the bullying of labor union politicians.

Fate's Favorite.

To no man in all the history of the world has capricious Fate been so lavish of opportunity as to WILLIAM HENCKELSEN, the exile of Chateau Middachten.

Destiny made him ruler of a people docile, patient, industrious, which followed him loyally in peace and war.

Fate decreed that he should have the choice of flight or defiance in a moment of danger.

Had he chosen defiance his life might have been the price; he would have won relief from the existence he leads. But it is more likely that he would have survived, the ruler of his people, the idol of the cult which sees divinity in kings.

He chose flight, but with him went good fortune.

To him this day Fate again presents golden opportunity. His enemies seek him. They approach his unwilling keepers demanding his person. They have arraigned him. They plan to prosecute him. They hope to punish him. Among them are some who contemplate his execution.

He has but to say: "Fix the day, the place of my trial; I shall be there."

It might cost his life? What can mere life mean to an ex-emperor?

Making Slackers Into Loyal Citizens.

The United States Government comparatively little of the conscientious objector until the selective service act went into operation. He had small place in the early history of the country, and on account of the limited application of the draft act he presented no problem during the civil war. Even in the last war the name to the great mass of people had no special significance, or if it had any meaning at all it was that of coward or slacker. The rather serious problem which the conscientious objector actually presented is set forth in the Columbia University Quarterly by Dean HARLAN F. STONE of the Columbia Law School, who was a member of the Board of Inquiry which was charged with the disposition of cases of drafted men who had refused to perform military service on the ground of conscientious objection.

There were about twenty religious sects whose representatives appeared before the board and claimed exemption. Of these the Quakers, the Mennonites, the Unitarians, the Dunkards and the International Bible Students were the most numerous and most prominent. The war revealed other sects of lesser importance which were almost unknown to the world at large: those of the Israelitish House of David, who never cut their hair or beard, refrained from eating meat and lived isolated community life in imitation of that portrayed in the Old Testament; the Molokans, who came to this country to secure immunity from military service and to whom was given the freest name of Holy Jumpers; another religious body which on account of a religious observance was called the Holy Rollers; the Christadelphians, the Church of God and Saints of Christ, and a church organized in Salt Lake City about the time the draft law went into effect, of which the principal tenet was non-participation in war and which had only two members, both of whom appeared before the Board of Inquiry.

The Quakers produced the most favorable impression, not only on account of their high degree of intelligence but on account of their willingness to perform non-combatant service. Many of them eagerly accepted the onerous and often dangerous service of the Quaker Reconstruction Unit in Europe. In fact, the Government problem would not have been serious had it had only the Quakers to deal with.

The other religious objectors, with the exception of the International Bible Students, belonged to sects the members of which lived in isolated communities and their most important concern was the material welfare of that community and their life of compliance with the law and teachings of the church. Their average intelligence was low; few performed any duties of the citizen except to pay taxes; they had no comprehension of the issues of the war and a stolid indifference to the moral and political questions that interested their fellow countrymen.

Of the non-religious objectors, the group about whose good faith, Dean STONE says, there was the least doubt was that of the "extreme pacifists" who were able to establish that they had before the war held and asserted the belief, on moral grounds, in non-resistance to force. Many of them were vegetarians, refusing to eat meat or wear clothing made from slaughtered animals and opposed to taking

MR. MUNSEY'S PURCHASE OF THE "NEW YORK HERALD."

A High Grade Newspaper Whereof the Grade Is to Be Maintained.

From the Utica Press.

A note of little interest, transaction in the purchase of the New York Herald by Frank A. Munsey. With that daily the name of James Gordon Bennett was long connected and through two generations it maintained an honorable and leading place in American Journalism. With it goes the Evening Telegram and the Paris edition of the Herald, a large and handsome property. The New York Herald made a unique place for itself, always enjoyed extended circulation and on certain subjects was regarded as the very best authority. It was always a high grade newspaper and will be no continued under the new management.

Eighty-five Years of Eventful Existence.

From the Christian Science Monitor.

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The results of his observations Dean STONE sums up in the statement, "No phase of the great war has presented so many questions affecting the citizenship of our country requiring intelligent study." Many of the ignorant religious objectors, he believes, would have been loyal citizens, the first to offer their services to the country if they had been enlightened by education. While as regards the educated college pacifist he is puzzled to know what forces are at work in our social and educational life to produce the "ill balanced and distorted intellectual processes by which these young men, in many respects intelligent, had worked out their social philosophy." The whole matter would thus resolve itself into a question of education, with the responsibility not alone upon the school teacher but also upon the disseminator of information on all that is vital and important in public interest.

Andre Tardieu.

The change in the French Government means that the difficult task of rebuilding the devastated region is to pass from the hands of Captain ANDRE TARDIEU, from whose youthful energy and enthusiasm a great deal had been expected. Although the new Premier, M. MILLERAND, seems to have urged him to retain his portfolio as Minister of the Devastated Region, M. TARDIEU apparently did not wish to embarrass the new Government and has elected to step out with his chief, CLEMENCEAU, whose close adviser he had been during the progress of the peace negotiations.

Of the men surrounding CLEMENCEAU during the Peace Conference TARDIEU was easily first in the affections of the "Tiger." It occluded no surprise therefore when a few months ago a vacancy occurring in the Clemenceau Cabinet TARDIEU was promptly elevated to it and he turned from diplomacy to the task of raising France from its ruins. Unusually young for a Cabinet post, to many his career seemed meteoric, as French law school, his rise dating from the time when he was appointed head of the French High Commission to this country. It was his knowledge of America and his supposed understanding of the Wilson psychology which caused CLEMENCEAU to lean upon him to the extent he did. Three months ago he was being talked of as a possible Premier, only his age being against him. But having urged CLEMENCEAU to accede to the Wilson demands that the covenant and treaty be interwoven on the ground that the American people were behind the President, it was inevitable that the defeat of the treaty in the Senate, completing the disillusionment of the French people, should have unpleasant political consequences for him.

It is to be regretted, however, that in a work like that of rebuilding her destroyed cities France is not to have the benefit of his talent for organization and capacity for hard work.

Mr. Fodick's "Embarrassment."

In tendering his resignation to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations RAYMOND B. FODICK, the American who has been acting as Under Secretary-General, displays a somewhat unfortunate sense of mind. He says in his letter to Sir Eric DRUMMOND:

"Now that the League of Nations is no longer a provisional organization but has become established as a going concern the continued lack of action on America's course places me personally in a position of peculiar embarrassment. In order, therefore, to avoid any confusion or misunderstanding as to my position as Under Secretary-General of the League it seems best for me to tender my resignation."

If Mr. FODICK has found his position of "peculiar embarrassment" it has been no fault of the branch of this Government which has been carefully studying the scheme which President Wilson, of whom Mr. FODICK is a protégé, attempted to hurry through. No American representative, official or otherwise, in a foreign country should confess "embarrassment" because his own nation refuses to rush up a blind and very dark alley. As for the "continued lack of decision" of which Mr. FODICK speaks there is rather a plain and final decision on the covenant in the form in which it was presented to the United States by Mr. WILSON. Americans will not have it.

One wonders whether the Hon. J. SERPUS DANIELS really shares Admiral Sims' seeming delight in encountering and weathering squalls.

THE MAN FOR THE MOON.

A Nomination by One Who Realizes What the Honor Will Mean.

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir:

I have been very much interested in your editorial article of January 13 in which you make a plea for the possibility of a trip to the moon by means of the further development of Professor Goddard's invention. You realize of course how quickly science perfects her wondrous in these times, and I am writing to you in the interests of humanity and of the moon dwellers whom a distinguished historian of your civilizing has called lunatics. Sure, it is not premature to suggest that we cast about for a passenger on that initial trip to the moon.

I judge from the tone of your editorial article that THE SUN has no one especially in mind for the honor of being the first interplanetary visitor. We should choose carefully in order to make our friends a pleasant impression of our type. Moreover, may I not suggest that it is an honor to be conferred with love in our hearts upon one of us who has achieved prominence in our affairs. THE SUN should call upon its readers for names of those eminent persons whom they propose as candidates for this high position.

Just to give you an idea of the sort of man I have in mind I will furnish you with the name of one whom we all know, a man of calibre, one who holds a position of trust in our nation. This gentleman is also in charge now of a fleet of aeroplanes, which makes his selection doubly fitting. There will doubtless be other candidates, favorites of your readers, but here is one that fills the bill in my opinion, and he not only satisfies our idea of the type required, but we can spare him from our midst. Who is he, I question, better for our representative to the moon people than Mr. BURLESON?

WILLIAM H. WOODRUFF.

CHESTER, N. J., January 20.

JUDGES AS LAWMAKERS.

Would the Plan for Simplifying Court Practice Be Constitutional?

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: I fully concur with the conclusion of Gilbert D. Lamb as to the proposed changes in the Code of Civil Procedure. He might, in my opinion, have further pointed out that the scheme of Judge CLEARWATER to have the 112 judges he speaks of make the practice law of our courts would be clearly unconstitutional and without the power of the Legislature to grant. The Constitution, Article II, section 1, says: "The legislative power of this State shall be vested in the Senate and Assembly," which power it has been held cannot be delegated to the Legislature except to municipalities and boards of supervisors to a limited extent as therein provided.

To delegate to the 112 judges the power to make the practice law of our courts would be to set up a sort of a sub-legislative body. Judge CLEARWATER, section 1, says: "The legislative power of this State shall be vested in the Senate and Assembly," which power it has been held cannot be delegated to the Legislature except to municipalities and boards of supervisors to a limited extent as therein provided.

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THAT COLLEGE STRAW.

More Than Two to One Against the Unchanged Covenant.

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: In THE SUN of January 17 Senator HITCHCOCK is quoted as having had read into the Record his analysis of a partial ratification of the League of Nations. He returns from the straw vote on partial ratification of the League of Nations in the country. He shows from the records of those institutions which he chose that 45 per cent. of the voters favor the ratification with unaltered "is" or "as." He seems to have failed to notice, however, that a vote for any one of the other proposals, namely, no treaty at all, a treaty with the League reservations, or a treaty with the League reservations, must of necessity be a vote against the Wilsonian mandate of no changes.

Taking even Senator HITCHCOCK's high estimate, the difference between 100 per cent. and 45 per cent. still remains 55 per cent. against the proposition. The official returns on the four proposals are: Unaltered treaty, 32.5 per cent.; treaty, 10 per cent.; League reservations, 18 per cent.; and the ratio stands 32.5 for and 67.5 against the document as it was written. On a constitutional basis it is a little better than the necessary two-thirds vote.

Figures do not lie when they are properly treated.

JOHN S. VAN NEST.

PRINCETON, N. J., January 20.

How Europe Might Pay Its Debts.

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: I would grant England, France and Italy greater credits on these conditions only: Let each pledge itself to pay on account all the money now being spent or to be spent on army and naval expansion. It would pay interest on needed credits by amortizing the debt slowly. But as long as they continue to squander billions on militarism it is criminal foolish to uphold them in their extravagance. Better lose what we have ventured than to back further losing nags that persist in running wild.

GEORGE GILBERT.

BINGHAMTON, JANUARY 20.

Rewards of Merit.

The times have changed since Farragut did battle on the waves. Now honors are distributed uniquely to the brave.

A mariner who stays ashore and never sails the sea. Nine numbers on the navy list advanced is sure to be.

An officer who saves his ship. Though with the best intention, he in despatches merely gets credit for a mariner's loss. In war time to a fee. Or through an accident, then he receives the D. S. O.

MINNA IRENE.

New York Herald goes out it will be

another evidence of the fickleness of the public toward newspapers. Time was

when this one was indispensable. Its news columns covered the world.

Humor has it that in the fine days of Herald prosperity Mr. Bennett, the younger man, who lived in Europe, used to draw on the treasurer for \$10,000 every Tuesday and then get the balance at the end of the year. Those merry days ended before Mr. Bennett died. Mr. Munsey's decision will be watched with great interest.

POINDEXTER LAUDS CUMMINS RAIL BILL.

Anti-Strike Clause Guarantee Against Civil War, He Says.

BITTER AGAINST UNIONS.

Senator, in Speech at Providence, Scores Labor Terrorism.

PROVIDENCE, Jan. 20.—The so-called "anti-strike" clause in the Cummins railroad bill, now in conference between the houses of Congress, is the first substantial move made "to solve a problem which has in it the germs of civil war and revolution," Senator Miles Poinexter (Wash.), an aspirant for the Republican nomination for President, declared to-night in an address on "Anti-Strike Legislation" before an audience of business men.

"If it is not solved by law," he said, "it will be solved in blood and in the destruction of our institutions. It involves the question whether industrial disputes, the adjustment of wages, the terms and conditions of the employment of labor in commerce and industry, where employer and employee cannot agree, are to be adjusted by the orderly processes of government, through reason and public opinion as official arbitrators, or by force, terror and intimidation.

"While it is confined to these engaged in interstate commerce, it indirectly affects the entire country. Every industry is dependent upon public transportation. It is very likely that Congress would have power to go much further than is proposed by this section and to prohibit such conspiracy, or such act in pursuance of such conspiracy, to hinder the movement of commodities in interstate or foreign commerce, whether the operation of railroads or other facilities of transportation were interfered with or not. But the section is narrowly limited to hindering the operation of trains or other facilities of transportation, and if the principle is established by the enactment and enforcement of this section the path will have been cleared which can be followed both by the Federal Government and by the States, as the necessity thereof may appear, in the industrial struggles of the future.

"It will be noticed that the word 'strike' is not used in this section. It is strenuously opposed by some as invading involuntary servitude upon railway employees. Nobody in this country would have the hardihood to propose a bill of involuntary servitude, and if any such law were enacted it would have no effect under the express guarantee of our free constitution and would be at once held void by the courts. The committee on railroads, and the Senate, to anticipate any possible misinterpretation of its intention, has expressly negated such construction. Under it men would have a right to quit work, either singly or collectively, and would be proved beyond a reasonable doubt that such quitting was in pursuance of a combination or agreement and with the intent and purpose to intentionally hinder, delay or prevent the operation of trains or other facilities of transportation.

"Such hindrance of movement of trains may be effected in various ways. No particular method is specified in the statute. It might be done by putting ties on the track in front of a moving train. It might be done by blowing up a bridge or cutting the wires of a telegraph. It might be done by the operation of trains or other facilities of transportation, by threatening to kill them or their families or to destroy their homes if they operated trains or other facilities of transportation, or by the act, if enacted would at least not be confined to strikes.